FELLOWSHIP

February 1946 Vol. XII—No. 2

This German Militarism

By JAMES MORGAN READ

•

From the Ruins of Broken Dreams

By LEONARD EDELSTEIN

•

Interracial Brotherhood in CPS

By WILSON A. HEAD

•

On "The Yogi and the Commissar"

By JAMES R. ROBINSON

"One who would guide a leader of men in the uses of life
Will warn him against the use of arms for conquest.
Weapons often turn upon the wielder,
An army's harvest is a waste of thorns,
Conscription of a multitude of men
Drains the next year dry. . . ."

Laotse **(Sixth Century B. C.)**

20 cents a copy **$2.00 a year**

FROM MY STANDPOINT

John Haynes Holmes

THE GREAT PERIL of this hour is disillusionment—as dread an influence on the fibres of moral being as that of poison on the veins and arteries of the physical body. Those of us who lived through the period of the last war and its aftermath need no instruction on this point. We saw a whole world go spiritually to pieces under the impact of the disappointment that swept the hearts of men when they discovered that the sacrifices of 1914-1918 had been all in vain. It was this disappointment, passing at last into cynicism, which must be accounted one of the forces that led to the coming of the Second World War. Men had no courage, no faith, to resist the tidal flow of disaster which was overwhelming them. Their despair was in large part their undoing.

I

Now comes a new threat of disillusionment! With the close of the present war, we see ourselves again headed straight for what we went through after Versailles a quarter of a century ago. We do not have to wait this time for a peace conference to see the old nationalistic imperialism at work. Russia in Poland, Hungary, Jugo-Slavia and the Baltic states; Britain in Greece and Java; France in Syria; our own country in the Near East, Japan, China, and the islands of the seas; are already hard at work on the demonstration that this is the same old world and that we have learned nothing from the earth-shaking struggle against the Axis powers. San Francisco, tooted by every propaganda trumpet in the United Nations as the new pattern of peace, is seen by every clear and honest mind to be nothing but the old pattern of military dictatorship—the Holy Alliance of 1815 come to life again to fool the millions who read no history. The atomic bomb shifts the old competitive race of armaments to a new plane of terror and ultimate destruction of mankind by force and violence. And in the offing is a peace treaty, implemented by the bomb, which will extend to the world that division of spoils and power among the victor nations which has already been so fatally achieved in Germany.

II

Yes, there is reason for disillusionment in this dark hour. Yet should we fight it as we would the plague. We must not surrender our souls to this final ill, and therewith pass through that gateway of the Inferno which bears the legend, "Abandon hope all ye who enter here." Especially must we pacifists lead the way to courage, faith, and new resolution to salvage a shattered world. For, paradoxically, we who condemn war as man's final doom are the very ones to save man from that doom.

For we pacifists have never been fooled. Others could argue, as they did argue, that good was coming out of this recent war. Just because we failed in the First World War, so the argument ran, we could not fail again; for what was wrong in the first war we now know, and this time we shall avoid these mistakes. But the pacifists have not believed this. They have insisted in this war, as in the last war, that no good could come of it. For war is what it is—a thing of utter evil. Good can no more proceed out of such evil than grapes can grow from thorns or figs from thistles. This war was just one more war, that is all. It is not different from the last war (1914-1918), or earlier wars in history. It has brought us victory, since we were strong; it has destroyed our enemies, since we were cruel. But it has not, because it could not, bring us peace.

"Not all the preaching since Adam
Hath made death other than death,"

wrote James Russell Lowell. In the same way, not all the heroism and sacrifice of unnumbered dead since Cain and Abel have made war other than war. Not from the fell work of slaughter can come peace. This priceless boon has other roots which must be planted in other soil if it is to grow and blossom and bear fruit.

We pacifists have seen clearly from the beginning what is now so terribly apparent at the end. And this means that we are not, and will not be, disillusioned. We have nothing to be disillusioned about! We are not going to be cast down into any pit of despair, since we have stood upon no high place of expectation from which to fall. Cynicism is not going to seize us like a devouring fever, since we have never been infected by empty fantasies. Our attitude toward this last war, as toward all wars, is as cool and calm and objective, and fundamentally scientific, as that of the physician in his study of a pestilence in his hospital. In this attitude there is no place for disillusionment, certainly not for despair—only for knowledge, sound judgment, and unconquerable faith in the unending struggle against evil.

III

So the pacifist is the one man who is safe from the peril of spiritual disintegration which now threatens the world in the wake of war. He at least is in no danger of losing the integrity of his soul, since he has never betrayed the integrity of his mind. Misled by no false hopes, befooled by no fond illusions, deceived by no deliberate lies, the pacifist is alone unshaken, undaunted, unafraid, confident of himself and of his cause, ready to lay hold upon that peace which the world thinks now lost forever. As he sees the war brought to an end, he rejoices that this insuperable obstacle to progress is at last out of the way, and that, with the old lesson taught again, he can lead mankind, ere it be too late, to peace and brotherhood.

FELLOWSHIP

Published by the

Fellowship of Reconciliation

2929 Broadway, New York 25, N. Y.

JOHN NEVIN SAYRE, A. J. MUSTE } *Editors*

J. ELLIOTT FINLAY, *Managing Editor*

RUTH ERWIN, *Assistant Editor*

EDITORIAL CONTRIBUTORS

Devere Allen
Walter Russell Bowie
Vera Brittain
Margueritte Harmon Bro
Bernard C. Clausen
Sarah N. Cleghorn
Florence Converse
Henry H. Crane
Albert Edward Day
Elisabeth D. Dodds
Eugene Exman
Caleb Foote
Albert Fowler
Richard B. Gregg
Wallace Hamilton
Erna Harris
John Haynes Holmes
Allan A. Hunter
Josephine W. Johnson
Muriel Lester
Halford E. Luccock
Alfred D. Moore
Ferner Nuhn
Kirby Page
Edith Lovejoy Pierce
Edwin McNeill Poteat
Douglas V. Steere
John M. Swomley, Jr.
Howard Thurman

FELLOWSHIP is published monthly. Re-entered as second class matter February 15, 1941, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

20 Cents a Copy $2.00 a Year

Parcels for Europe

CO's voluntarily serving in semi-starvation experiments at Minneapolis, together with other FOR members, packed about 400 relief parcels. We realized what it meant when we heard the story of the guard who was set to watch the human guinea pigs pack the parcels in order to see that none of them yielded to the temptation to sample the contents of the boxes.

Up to the present time money contributions have been discouraged by the Relief Parcels program. However, money contributions will now be welcomed because a volunteer group is now organized to purchase and pack gifts. In case cash contributions should exceed facilities for packing, the excess will be turned over to the regular FOR War Victims Fund. Address Food Parcels Campaign, 117 Lakeview Ave., Cambridge, Mass.

FELLOWSHIP

THE JOURNAL OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

February 1946 **Vol. XII—No. 2**

An answer to those who declare that the chief cause of recent wars has been —

This German Militarism

By JAMES MORGAN READ*

THE TERMS OF THE POTSDAM AGREEMENT of the Big Three are obviously based on the theories of Van Sittart and Morgenthau—that the peace of the world depends ultimately upon holding down Germany, the chronic war-monger of Europe. As Samuel Marble showed in his article in the September issue of FELLOWSHIP, the Potsdam agreement cannot possibly accomplish all of its professed aims, but his suggestion that Germany may yet be convinced of the futility of using force and may become a great peace-loving nation will be denied by many as unrealistic. In order to clear up the picture we need to examine the validity of Potsdam's underlying thesis. Has Germany, in fact, been the most militaristic of nations?

It is worth looking at the word "militaristic" before going further. We can apply the term definitely to a country (1) if it seems to have an inherent urge to war and aggression in its national make-up; (2) if it wages war frequently; (3) if it refuses to co-operate in a comity of nations; (4) if it maintains larger armies and navies than its neighbors; and (5) if it sets a premium on martial ideology. Obviously, any sovereign state of modern times exhibits some if not all of these traits at one time or another; judgment of any individual nation must be based on relative standards. Let us apply these criteria to the German record.

Biological Make-up

The argument that the German "biological make-up" produces a militaristic attitude is scarcely tenable. It is sometimes urged that the trouble with the Germans is that they have remained barbarians at heart ever since the days of the Roman empire; unconquered by the Romans, the Germans roamed their forests on the other side of the Rhine and Danube for several hundred years while the rest of the European world was subjected to the civilizing influence of the Empire. To recognize this fallacy for what it is, one has only to recall that the Anglo-Saxons came from Germany to furnish the basis of the population of the British Isles. If the Germans are inherently militaristic because they remained outside the boundaries of the Roman Empire, so then are the British, to say nothing of the Danes, the Swedes, and the Norwegians.

Other critics do not go back as far as the Empire; they point instead to Lutheranism. Dean Inge is one of those who believe that the German cultural pattern has been the victim of Luther. Now this accusation is a little hard on Luther. His biographer, Roland Bainton, reminds us that Luther, after all, did defy the highest secular authority of his time, the Emperor, at the Diet of Worms; and if he failed to compromise with Zwingli, the real reason lay not in a petty disagreement over the interpretation of the eucharist but in Luther's disinclination to settle things by force, as the Swiss reformer proposed. Also worthy of note is the fact that the Anglican Church has been quite as closely connected with the state and no more than Lutheranism has it encouraged disobedience to the powers that be. Whether the Germans have an innate compulsion to obey authority and allow themselves to be regimented is a debatable issue. Until Bismarck's time they were generally regarded as hopelessly individualistic; this tendency reappeared in the days of the Republic.

Frequency of Wars

As for the waging of frequent wars, to which Dr. Lowrey† refers, Germany's record is not as black as he paints it. In his two volumes, *A Study of War,* Quincy Wright has summarized the participation in wars of important states from 1480 to 1941. The totals are as follows:

---

* James Morgan Read is a graduate of Dickinson College and holds degrees of Dr. Phil. from the University of Marburg, Germany, and Ph.D. from the University of Chicago. He lived in Germany for three years (1930-1932) and since then has been on the faculty of the University of Louisville in the department of history and political science. In 1944 he became personnel director of the Friends Reception Center for CPS. He was sent to Germany in January by the Friends to investigate specific needs there in anticipation of sending relief and reconstruction units to Germany.

† Dr. Lawson G. Lowrey, editor of the American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, who recently wrote in an article published in the *New York Times:* "Germany and the German people have upset the peace of the world more times in the last two thousand years than have any others."

England	78
France	71
Spain	64
Russia	61
Austria	52
Turkey	43
Poland	30
Sweden	26
Italy	25
Germany (Prussia)	23

This record of nearly 500 years may be attacked on the basis that it does not concentrate sufficiently on the last hundred years, during which time the real trouble has developed. From the same source come revealing statistics which show that Germany has moved up only one notch in the list of the ten countries waging the most wars since 1800.

The explanation of Germany's good behavior in this latter phase is to be found in the fact that she did not become involved in the imperialist wars of the nineteenth century. By the time Bismarck unified Germany in 1870 the Reich did not possess a square inch of soil not contiguous to it. Between 1870 and 1914 the new Reich raised its flag over a number of colonies, principally in Africa, whose total square miles were three times those of the Fatherland itself. Natives were not warred upon to gain these ends, nor were rival colonial powers given occasion for hostilities. This is not to say that the emissaries of Bismarck treated the aborigines in the spirit of William Penn, nor does it excuse the chicaneries of such colonizers as Karl Peters. Nevertheless, Germany's relations with other powers remained exceptionally pacific during the colonizing process. Great Britain gave her blessing while Bismarck extended his arm over the African domains, and even France raised no objections. To be sure, Germany objected to the extension of the French colonial empire in North Africa; one Moroccan crisis followed another between 1905 and 1914 (Algeçiras, Casablanca, Agadir). The tensions stored up in these years contributed to the explosion of 1914. But *per se* the acquisition of colonies by Germany was a peaceful process.

Co-operation in Society

Far from refusing to co-operate in a peaceful society, Germany played a definite part in the pacific "concert of Europe." Bismarck once acted as conductor—when he played the part of "honest broker" at the Congress of Berlin in 1878, preventing war between England and Russia. Again, between 1918 and 1933, the Weimar Republic took its place in the comity of nations. It signed the Kellogg Pact banning war as an instrument of national policy. The United States also signed, but Weimar Germany went further, joining the League of Nations and the World Court. Part of these actions were under duress, but a good proportion of them received the hearty support of the German people in free elections.

Size of Armed Forces

Other nations have maintained as large or larger military and naval establishments over long periods. Ever since Frederick the Great, who warned his people that "God is on the side of the largest battalions," Prussia has believed in keeping well armed. But Prussia only copied the idea of universal conscription, which France invented and practised first. Prussia never had a navy. Germany began a program of naval expansion between 1900 and 1914, but Great Britain insisted on the two-power standard, *i.e.*, the maintaining of a navy equal in size to the next two most powerful navies in the world combined. The relative size of the German military establishment is a knottier problem. Certainly Prussia and then Germany have put emphasis on a powerful standing army for the past two hundred years. The same may be said however of Austria and Russia; and France, in the same period, had her Richelieu, Louis XIV, and Napoleon. Probably the best time for a fair comparison is the period 1870-1914. In that period the French and German national legislative bodies vied with one another in passing heavier armament and conscription bills. Scholars have written books on the question of which had the larger army, plus reserves, at the end of the game in 1914. The results vary, since the statistics can be compiled in different ways. For instance, if one compares the numerical size of the German army with that of its implacable enemy, Russia, there is no doubt that the Czar had an army twice the size of the Kaiser's. But in view of ensuing events and the ill-equipped condition of those Russian soldiers, the comparison is obviously misleading and unsatisfactory.

Martial Ideology

In the cultivation of martial ideology Germany must confess to her greatest sin. This has not always been the case, for even after Frederick the Great had left his aggressive tendencies grafted on the Prussian body politic, Germany could still be known as "the land of thinkers and poets." One nineteenth-century wit even asserted that England owned the waves, France the ground, and Germany the clouds. Nevertheless, in the past hundred years German politics and social life have been heavily shot through with the philosophy of "blood and iron." Other countries have had their chauvinist writers in the same period; even peaceful America produced Captain Mahan and Homer Lea to put beside Fichte and Treitschke. To say that the scales are evenly balanced in this area would be a gross exaggeration; when all is said and done, with the single and glorious exception of the period of the Republic, Germany has a consistent record during the past hundred years of glorifying force as the final arbiter in human affairs, of giving social preference to the officer caste and, in general, of putting the soldier on a pedestal.

Only during the period of the Republic did a different attitude prevail. Not only was the Weimar constitution a truly democratic instrument; as the *spirit* of democracy began to take root, the virus of Prussian bellicosity receded. The army perforce was little more than an auxiliary police, and the naval establishment was a miniature. Some would have us believe that secret arming was proceeding at a great pace, but this allegation has yet to be proved. Certainly the people as a whole knew nothing of it, and cared less. The military way of life was at a low ebb, generals wore civilian dress, and pacifists took full advantage of the freedom of speech and the press. The largest single party was that of the Social Democrats, one of whose basic principles was internationalism. Large scale exchanges of students and

professors were carried out with other countries. Little was heard of the philosophy of Fichte, Jahn, Treitschke, or Clausewitz, though the centennial of the enlightened Stein was celebrated enthusiastically in 1930. German institutions of learning, hotels, industries, attempted to win over foreigners rather than bulldoze them. The average German revealed himself in those days as an ordinary human being with a normal tendency to individualism and even to defiance of the authorities. In short, those of us who lived in republican Germany know that, despite all the historical and geographical factors explaining her tendency toward a militarist *Weltanschauung,* there was then a peace-minded Germany. This is a fact that cannot be denied.

To one charge out of five in the indictment for militarism, Germany must plead guilty. Does that mean that Germany is "inherently militaristic" and the constant disturber of the peace? Those who would still reply affirmatively must indicate how the present steps for the "pacification" of the land will instill in the German mind a new attitude toward things military. Instead of proving to the Germans the futility of using force, we are probably convincing them only of the futility of using *inadequate* force. Therein lies the tragedy of the present attempts at eliminating "German militarism."

The two thousand CPS men who served in mental hospitals can leave with the satisfaction of having created a socially significant movement

From the Ruins of Broken Dreams

By LEONARD EDELSTEIN*

THE MEN OF CIVILIAN PUBLIC SERVICE are preparing to go home. For most of them the war years have meant long days of unrequited labor, haunting qualms of conscience crying for work that was significant. Many men of CPS will lay their picks and shovels aside, place their axes in sheaths for the last time, and turn their backs upon the lonely forests of frustration.

But the 2,000 and more men who volunteered to work in mental institutions will feel real consolation in having done a hard task that was urgent—one that aided thousands of suffering fellow-men; and what is more, these volunteers have established a continuing program of institutional reform and mental health that may well meet one of society's greatest needs—the Mental Hygiene Program of CPS. Grass roots in its origin, it is the creation of the men who have worked and are still working long hours at menial tasks such as changing linens, feeding bed-ridden patients, sweeping and polishing hospital floors. These men have co-ordinated their efforts and by means of a central committee have launched a program that has already made an impact on institutions throughout the country and has received the hearty endorsement of prominent people—including a great many non-pacifists.

Unknown to most people, the scientific advance in the treatment of mentally ill persons has far outdistanced the level of care and treatment actually given in most public institutions. In the past half-dozen years especially, great strides have been made by the use of electric shock treatments and the administration of insulin and other drugs. Patients long given up as "hopelessly insane" have responded remarkably to these new treatments, and in some of the nation's better institutions over 50 per cent of their patients are being returned to society. Less encouraging is the figure attained in many public institutions where the number rehabilitated hovers at 20 per cent and even below. Chief causes for this disparity, according to the opinion of many professional persons, is society's utter neglect of its institutions. The result is that hospitals and training schools for mental defectives are for the most part shunned by the taxpaying public and their needs are left to the unenlightened official who views the institutions too often through the hazy vision of the public accountant whose primary duty is to keep expenses low, no matter what the human cost.

Intolerable Conditions

In view of these circumstances it is not surprising that conditions exist which CPS men have described in the following terms:

Facilities—"Wards are so overcrowded there is no room on either side of patients' beds."

Food—"Tonight's supper consisted of food that was putrid. It had become green with mold which had been scraped from its surface before cooking. You could tell by its smell and taste that it was bad."

Personnel—"The attendant in charge is an alcoholic and when he is feeling mean after a drunk, he shouts at the patients and sometimes beats them with his fists or a club."

"The doctor is a ne'er-do-well who probably couldn't carry responsibilities on the outside. When he comes to check the patients he doesn't even stop to examine them. He just signs his name on the books and leaves."

"The nurse doesn't seem to care about the patients. When I first went on duty she told me a patient was dying and she hoped he would die in a hurry so they could ship him out and make better use of his bed."

Cleanliness: "I have taken tests of the water and have discovered definite traces of faecal matter."

Many such accounts prepared by participants of the MHP of CPS attest to intolerable conditions in our public institutions for the mentally ill. To the average man on the street they are as shocking as concentration-camp stories were to many German citizens. Here in America—in even

* Graduate of Syracuse University, and LL.B. of the Harvard Law School; member of Unit 49 at the Philadelphia State Hospital, and co-ordinator of the Mental Hygiene Program of CPS.

the most progressive states—where *general* hospital care is characterized by cleanliness and the best professional skills, the level of care and treatment in mental institutions is a horrible story of abuse and neglect and even brutality. It is hidden from the public by a strong cloak of public apathy; and in the case of the interested laymen who visit institutions, their attentions are too frequently diverted to a maze of statistical reports, or they are deluded in their analyses by the surface appearance of polished floors and white linens—while the real evils of the institution lie unexposed in the back wards or in the intangibles of personal relationships.

The Mental Hygiene Program

Into this picture the MHP of CPS was born and is now establishing itself as a full-blown public education program in the field of mental health. Recognizing that action must eventually be generated by a consistent force of enlightened public opinion, the Program is preparing one of the most reliable stories of what happens in the mental institutions of this country as observed and presented in the eyewitness testimony of the men who have served them. This story, to be presented in book and perhaps pamphlet form, will not only give the dramatic story of our own American atrocity, but will present a constructive plan of action to attack the evils of the institutional system. It will be presented in the spirit of sympathetic understanding for the purpose of educating the public, and will not be a wild shriek against any one institution or against the personalities who are involved. Following the presentation of this book a series of public education pamphlets will be prepared by men in the units to give an easy layman-like interpretation of mental illness and to break down false concepts which have so long surrounded the mentally ill.

Mental Health Laws

With the launching of this appeal to the public, a model mental health law will be presented to the legislators of the country. Such a model law would set a standard toward which states might remodel their obsolete legal practices in this field. Considerable interest has already been aroused regarding the Program's legal activities. The National Committee for Mental Hygiene has been encouraging progress at this level and is especially anxious to aid in the distribution of the final compilation of the briefs of all state laws dealing with mental health. A survey—one of the most comprehensive of its kind ever conducted—will furnish to administrators, social workers, lawyers, and relatives of patients an easy-to-read statement of the rights and privileges of patients. When the survey is completed the proposed model mental health law, which has been prepared already, will be revised for public presentation. Among those interested in the legal aspects of the MHP of CPS are members of the American Bar Association who have expressed assurance that their fellow members will be happy to receive the proposed law when it is ready, and that the organization's channels of operation might be used for promotion of the law in state legislatures.

Aids to Institutions

Within institutions for care of mental patients there are glaring weaknesses that can be met to some extent by immediate aids. *The Attendant,* the only publication of its kind in this country, is one of these aids. Published each month and distributed to every public mental institution in the country, it is an exchange of ideas among attendants, as well as a medium for presenting viewpoints of professionals within the mental health field. This little publication which has drawn plaudits from all over the country —and from foreign lands—is now undergoing revision in format and layout. It will be continued as a spokesman for the humble attendant and eventually as the herald for a strong professional organization at the attendant level, that will seek better living conditions and more adequate training for attendant personnel.

Also included as direct aids to the institutions are attendant handbooks dealing with techniques—such as the ways of handling disturbed patients, how to occupy the leisure time of patients in a constructive manner—simple handicraft projects which the attendant can teach to the patient with little or no expenditure of material or funds. These handbooks, like the pamphlets for the public, are also being prepared to sell inexpensively and to attract in a colorful way the interest of the present type of poorly educated attendant.

Public Education

In the last days of Civilian Public Service there is a steady hum of industry in the headquarters of the MHP as the veins of reliable information from CPS men on the wards are being tapped for a supply of material that will send off to full fruition the first expansive program of public education in mental health.

Prominent persons are being invited to serve as sponsors, and already the list includes among others, the names of Eleanor Roosevelt, Pearl Buck, and Richard Walsh (president of John Day Publishing Company and editor of the magazine *Asia and the Americas*). The Program's advisors, some of the most prominent men in mental hygiene, include Dr. George Stevenson, director of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, and Dr. Samuel Hamilton, of the U. S. Public Health Service, one of the greatest authorities on mental institutions in this country. William Draper Lewis, former Dean of the University of Pennsylvania Law School and now head of the revered American Law Institute, is the Program's advisor in the legal area. The list of supporters of this CPS work of national importance grows daily with the increasing recognition of the real need in American society for such an organization.

CPS men from mental institution units may well be proud of their war-time efforts. They are beginning to realize rich fruits from their work in spite of accompanying frustrations. They are beginning to recognize in their mental health program a work that is potentially more effective and significant to modern society than any work they might have requested if given the opportunity when drafted. As they leave the hospital ward to become interpreters of the new peacetime program that is developing from the MHP of CPS, they may view this monument to the welfare of their fellow-man and be encour-

aged to further successes by the words of Dr. George Stevenson in the annual report of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene.

"In our report of last year we called attention to the fine type of service being rendered mental hospitals and schools for mental defectives by conscientious objectors who volunteer to serve as attendants. Under any conditions the services of this body of 1,800 men would be gratefully received, but in present circumstances their contribution is of inestimable value. This group, designated as Civilian Public Service, has drawn up for itself, as an outgrowth of its experience in mental hospitals, a Mental Hygiene Program. . . . The National Committee for Mental Hygiene is encouraged to hope that the interest shown by this group in the care of the mentally ill will not cease with the war's end. No one can deny that members of the Civilian Public Service unit have firsthand knowledge of conditions in our mental hospitals. Since they know whereof they speak, their voices may well be harkened to, and their influence in their communities may well break down the lethargy of the public in regard to present conditions in mental hospitals."

Interracial Brotherhood in CPS

By WILSON A. HEAD*

IN THIS PERIOD of steadily increasing tensions between races and nationality groups throughout the country, various groups are advocating measures designed to eliminate causes of conflicts and antagonisms. Churches and liberal groups, however hesitantly, are taking stronger positions against discriminations and injustices based on race, creed, or color. Even though military officialdom clings tenaciously to the old familiar patterns of segregation and discrimination, soldiers in our armies have been learning through unforgettable experiences that men of different races and creeds can live together in harmony and mutual respect. In the midst of this confusion and antagonism, another small group has been making its contribution to the building of a society in which racism will have no place—the nation's conscientious objectors in Civilian Public Service camps and units throughout the country.

At the CPS camp in Big Flats, New York, for example, men of widely divergent national, educational, economic, racial, and religious backgrounds have been developing a pattern of living unique in its implications for those who work to build a world in which all men can live together without conflict. At one time seven of the 150 men at Big Flats were Negroes, two were Nisei, and two were Parsee Zoroastrians; four of the white assignees were Southerners, and two of the seven Negroes were born and lived a considerable part of their lives in the South. Men in this camp are assigned to work crews entirely without regard to race or creed. There is no attempt made to create artificially conditions of equal opportunity or responsibility in any of the camp activities—work, recreational, educational, or religious. There is no concern that Negroes or Jews or men of other groups are evenly distributed in the various camp dormitories or in the dining hall. Everyone eats or bunks where he wishes. Members of all groups are elected to camp offices and to committees. Two Negroes have served terms as chairman of Camp Meetings. One Negro has served as assistant crew leader—a post in which his job was that of receiving orders directly from the government technical men and assigning the tasks to various members of his crew. Negroes and Jews have served on the camp's education and personnel committees. These jobs have involved planning educational programs for the entire camp in the former case, and selecting men for volunteer projects in the case of the latter committee.

It has been stated that CO's constitute the most individualistic and independent group of thinkers in the nation today, and probably few informed persons would question that assertion. But racial antagonism and prejudices are integral parts of American society, and it is inevitable that some CO's have not entirely escaped them. In the early days of the Civilian Public Service program a considerable number of Virginia assignees were sent to one of the Eastern camps. The young Virginians were quite upset when the first Negro assignee came a few weeks after their arrival, and they threatened to walk out of camp unless the Negro were removed. When their threat failed to achieve the desired results, they insisted that the Negro be segregated in the dining hall and in sleeping quarters. Other campers found their attitude amusing and simply laughed at their presumptions.

It became clear, however, that arguments pointing out the inconsistencies of their religious beliefs with their racial prejudices were of little avail in persuading the Southerners to accept a more democratic attitude. The Easterners remained firm in their unwillingness to accept a discriminatory pattern in the camp. The impasse lasted only a few weeks before the Southerners began to accept a mode of living which they had proclaimed impossible. They gradually learned that Southern white campers could live amicably with Negroes without loss of their self-respect. Subsequently many of the Virginians became firm friends of Negro assignees.

Race Barriers

White Southerners at Big Flats adjusted themselves well to the interracial pattern of life. One young Georgian, a graduate of Georgia School of Technology at Atlanta, relates that although he was born and reared in the South, he had never had any contacts with educated and intelligent Negroes. He was only vaguely aware of the "race problem" and accepted the racial mores of his community as they existed, assuming that both Negroes and whites were satisfied with existing customs and traditions. On the other

* Formerly an assignee at the CPS camp at Big Flats, N. Y., and now a member of the CPS Unit at State Hospital, Philadelphia, Pa.; has done part-time youth field work for the FOR.

hand, many Northern men sent to Southern camps or special service units have found themselves continually frustrated in their efforts to bridge the vast chasm of caste and custom separating the races in the South. Several men left a unit in Florida when the community, aroused by a few bigots, became incensed over the fact that the assignees, all of whom were white, gave a party for the graduates of a local Negro high school. The community immediately interpreted this action as an attempt to destroy the racial taboos of the section, and responded with a curt ultimatum . . . "conform to the traditions of the South or get out!"

After considerable debate, a majority of the men decided to remain because they felt that opportunities to continue efforts toward improving relations between the races were not necessarily ended. Several men, however, felt that the incident had pointed out the impossibility of working in the South and maintaining personal integrity, and that their testimony toward interracial brotherhood was equally as important as that against war. Deciding that they could no longer accept the imposition of such a condition to further work, they withdrew from the unit.

Assignees coming from Eastern backgrounds, as do most of those at Big Flats, have been remarkably free from corroding prejudices. Occasionally, however, this freedom is largely intellectual rather than the outgrowth of vital life experiences. Intellectual convictions sometimes clash with subtly unconscious emotional attitudes which are almost inevitable results of living in our dominant white-culture pattern. Several months ago one of my best friends told me that he had always thought he was free from prejudices. A native of Philadelphia, he had been especially active in interracial activities in his community and at college. He had several Negro friends and was more or less proud of the fact, but when he first saw Negro men dancing with white girls at one of the camp parties he found himself upset and antagonistic. He was fortunate in recognizing the basis of his emotional attitudes. The observation of similar occurrences in an atmosphere of naturalness and ease has helped him to supplant this attitude with a more healthy point of view. Several other campers have related somewhat similar experiences.

Acid Test for Prejudice

The acid test for prejudice is in social relationships where the two sexes are involved. Various camp parties have provided unusual opportunities for the growth of healthy emotional attitudes which go far deeper than mere intellectual acceptance and tolerance. The camp has been fortunate in establishing relations with several student groups in a number of colleges and universities in the surrounding area. Parties are held monthly, and occasionally semi-monthly, to which co-eds are invited for folk singing, dancing, and other forms of recreational activities. The girls often play important parts in programs, rendering musical numbers, dramatic skits, or interpretive dances.

It has been interesting to observe the reactions of co-eds to assignees when student groups came to visit the camp. Like the general public, most college students have only a vague idea of what CO's are or what they think. The general assumption seems to be that CO's are extreme fundamentalists in a religious sense, suffering from a persecution complex, and entirely devoid of humor. The students' surprise is often obvious when they find a group of normal men of high intellectual achievement and emotional stability.

Whether the parties involve dancing to hill-billy tunes or to the latest "swing" numbers, performing dramatic or comic acts, or hiking in the surrounding hills and valleys, one is never conscious of artificial barriers in the social relationships between the co-eds and the different racial and religious groups in camp. The amazing thing, perhaps, is the fact that the girls usually fit into the pattern as though it were one to which they had always been accustomed! This might be considered an illustration of the influence of healthy social environment in molding attitudes. A number of groups which have visited camp have included Southern girls who are students at Eastern colleges and universities. Although these girls unquestionably find the social relationships between the races in camp entirely foreign to their experiences in the South, they have never refrained from enthusiastic participation in various camp activities.

Several months ago a girl from Birmingham, Alabama, and another from Chattanooga, Tennessee, both students at a near-by institution, were invited by two campers to attend one of the camp parties. They joined in the dancing and other activities without noticeable emotional disturbance, although Negroes were present. Both girls accepted invitations to dance with one of the Negroes. Following the party, a group of campers and their Southern guests sat in the camp library until about 2:00 A. M. discussing a variety of topics, including the nation's racial problem. Before leaving the camp on the following day, one of the girls confessed that she had felt "awfully peculiar" when she danced for the first time with the Negro! Negro girls attending one of the larger universities have frequently accompanied white girls to the camp for parties. Several white assignees have expressed approval of the idea of bringing Negro girls to visit the camp because most white men have had little or no opportunity to become acquainted with girls of other racial groups.

Discussion of Social Problems

Sunday morning discussion groups were regular features of weekend programs. Both co-eds and campers have participated in these discussions, bringing a wide variety of backgrounds and experiences into efforts to come to grips with the pressing problems of war and peace. Sessions were usually in the form of panel discussions, with two or three speakers talking ten to fifteen minutes each. After the speakers presented their views, meetings were opened for general discussion. Topics included Dumbarton Oaks, race relations, conscription, the church and war, pacifism, and trends and experiments in education. Significantly, the discussion on race relations was chaired by a young assignee from Delaware, one speaker was the young Southerner from Atlanta, Ga., another was a co-ed from one of the large Eastern universities, and the third was a young Japanese-American assignee released from a relocation center. A Negro girl, a native of Dallas, Texas, attending an Eastern college, made one of the important contributions to the discussion.

Out of these sessions many students have gained a new awareness and comprehension of social problems and, even more important, an awakened desire to contribute toward their solutions.

The interracial activities of campers are not confined to patterns of living within the camp community. Campers at Big Flats have been serving as volunteer orderlies at one of the local hospitals in Elmira, N. Y., a near-by city of some 60,000 population. When it was learned that the institution would not accept a Negro volunteer orderly, campers immediately held a meeting to decide on an approach to the problem. Interviews were held with hospital officials, the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and with interested private citizens. The hospital officials withdrew their objections after several months of negotiations, and Negro and Nisei orderlies have been rendering creditable service without incident.

The major obstacle to interracial activities has not been the attitudes of people in the communities surrounding camps or units, but the attitude of officials in Selective Service. Although the Church administering bodies theoretically operate the camps, Selective Service officials have maintained rigid controls which exemplify a punitive attitude completely foreign to the nature of the program. These officials have invariably refused to approve the assignment of Negroes to Southern camps and units even when there has been specific request for their services. A Negro camper here has been "blacklisted" for more than a year because he protested segregation in a Maryland institution to which he had been assigned. In a very real sense, Civilian Public Service camps and units are laboratories in which men are proving conclusively that peoples of widely divergent backgrounds, experiences, races, and creeds can live together in equality and harmony. Interracial activities, too numerous to be listed here, carried on by men in camps throughout the country are simply outgrowths of campers' belief in the dignity and equality of all mankind. Racial discriminations and prejudices are the antithesis of a philosophy of brotherhood broad enough to encompass the whole of humanity. When men really come to feel that all men are brothers under the fatherhood of God, then there will be no war, either within nations or between nations.

The pacifist movement must take seriously the challenge of Arthur Koestler and work out a practical synthesis of the methods of

The Yogi and the Commissar

By JAMES R. ROBINSON*

IN TWO WIDELY-READ ESSAYS, Arthur Koestler has discussed the two poles toward which radicals are driven in a disintegrating world. On the one hand, the Commissar believes in social revolution, external discipline, and the attainment of happiness through satisfaction of the material wants of man; on the other, the Yogi believes in a revivification of society through a revolution within each man, internal discipline of the person by himself, and the attainment of happiness through adjustment to the limitations of human existence plus a mystic intimation of Infinite Being. Koestler suggests that neither solution by itself will work socially, but that some kind of interweaving of these apparently incompatible threads is our only possible hope. For those of us who believe in pacifism as a social movement, the challenge of Koestler is patent.

The Medieval Synthesis

In the Middle Ages, both tendencies were simultaneously utilized for social betterment and for personal self-development. The medieval Church believed in the growth of the individual toward God through prayer and ascetic discipline; it believed also in organization and social discipline. While it recognized that some persons would tend to social action and others to mysticism, it clearly understood that such tendencies were merely phases of a total movement: there was no belief in mysticism as an escape from social responsibility, nor was action encouraged at the cost of the moral disintegration of the individual actionist. The fact that the power of the Church remained dominant through so many centuries is proof that ecclesiastical emphasis upon self-discipline was sufficient to counteract the corruption which might otherwise be expected to flow from power.

Pope Innocent III, with all his temporal power, was a Commissar with the inner dedication and faith of a Yogi. The Yogi mysticism of St. Francis left behind it both a social revival of religion and a great organization of friars. Even that extreme Yogi, St. John of the Cross, was not cut off from the Commissar tendency represented by the highly organized Catholic Church.

Modern Pacifist Yogi Trend

Until the 1930's pacifism put all its emphasis upon the individual conscience and the resultant individual action. Pacifist "organizations" developed as fellowships of "dedicated" individuals who had arrived at pacifism after "thinking through" the problem of war. By and large, such persons were mystics only in a shoddy way. But they do represent the Yogi tendency to emphasize the person as against the Commissar faith in organized action.

The failure of the Popular Front, the calamity of depression, and the imminence of the Second World War developed an intellectually respectable pacifist mysticism in such men as Aldous Huxley, Eric Gill, and particularly Gerald Heard. A rediscovery of the great mystics of the past, coupled with disillusion in modern social movements —all of which either failed to seize power or did not deliver

* Assignee at the Mancos, Colo., CPS camp, Robinson is one of a small group arrested recently on ostensibly false charges of refusing to work; court case is pending. The essays referred to were published by Macmillan and Company under the title *The Yogi and the Commissar.*

the goods promised once they were in power—drove these leaders Yogi-wards toward personal revolution through the loss of oneself in the realization of the Infinite. The assumption is that if enough persons follow such a road, social betterment automatically follows. Which would be true *if* enough persons would follow. But will they? And if they do, they will affect society organically (as the monasteries did in the Middle Ages) and not organizationally (as the Communist Party did in Russia). I have little faith in mystic movements outside the Catholic Church, for they usually ignore the Commissar trend entirely and, lacking the unifying force of the organized Church, lose their own unity as they diverge into individual emphases.

Would-be Pacifist Commissars

The last ten years have also seen a growth of the Commissar emphasis within pacifism. Those of us who came to pacifism through labor action, race relations groups, student unions, and anti-war strikes have rubbed elbows with Communists and other social actionists imbued with the power of organization. We emphasize action; we believe that persons can be organized only when tangible results are offered; we "educate" primarily by involving others in doing things rather than by intellectual appeals. In some small pacifist groups, constant emphasis on the "conscience" has given away to group discipline.

The Action Projects office within the Fellowship of Reconciliation is an organizational expression of this trend. Actionists with ideals of non-violence are now planning a national conference from which an independent left-wing pacifist movement may emerge. The Commissar trend is apparently on the march.

No Pacifist Synthesis

But with few exceptions, the pacifist Yogi and the pacifist Commissar are not phases of a total movement; they are exponents of divergent ways, each of them incomplete. As yet, pacifism has not gone far in building Koestler's synthesis of the two trends. In a secular age, pacifism is not yet the unifying force that the Church once was. As a social movement and not a religion, pacifism can never exert such an all-inclusive unifying force as the Church. But can it at least build internal unity, without which its program has no chance of success?

As a member of the activist or Commissar group, I am interested in how actionists can develop personality as members of a disciplined movement. It seems significant that most pacifists who participate in picketing, distributing leaflets, and direct action of the CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) type reject any implementation of Gandhi's self-purification step. At most it appears as an admission that we too are guilty of the same social sin we oppose since we have, through our passive acceptance in the past, made that sin possible. Such an admission is very true, but insufficient as self-purification: it does not prevent us from looking down on the opponent, it does not keep us from exulting when we win a victory over him, it does not protect us from thrilling to the sense of power. The result is that we lose sensitivity, that some of our early effectiveness in action is blunted, that we grow accustomed to struggling for power for its own sake, within the organization as well as against external opposing forces. Our group may enjoy a limited growth, but its leaders suffer moral decay. On a small scale, pacifist Commissars have shown not only organizational ability but also the usual penchant toward corruption. If pacifists are to aim at seizure of power, as Harper Sibley says they must, the Commissar must develop enough Yogi traits to protect the ideology from becoming merely a device for masking his personal struggle for power.

An Appeal to the Commissars

How may we modify the Commissar by adding Yogi traits? Traditional mystic practice indicates conscious self-discipline and self-denial. The self-denial which sends the actionist to the mimeograph instead of the movies is not enough—often it is not self-denial at all, but a method of aggrandizing the personality through organizational power. Why not try the historical ascetic discipline such as fasts, retreats, and periods of silence? The dependency protest fast at Wellston CPS Camp is perhaps a good way to start, for it combines the value of ascetic practice with accomplishing a tangible group result, thus becoming more palatable to impatient actionists.

Most of us will find group action for developing self-discipline necessary: we lack the stamina to start by ourselves, and we are afraid of sliding over into the individualistic, anti-action Yogi camp. Nevertheless, self-discipline rooted only in an action group is apt to be inadequate. Those of us who belong to any religious body that has not been "liberalized" to zero should gain from a more vital practice of our faith. Groups should build each member into a finer person, and each person should help develop the group into an efficacious instrument for action.

I have sketched only vaguely the possibility of reconciliation between the Yogi and the Commissar trends within pacifism. I cannot do more because my own experience as yet leads me no further, and I have seen little progress toward this synthesis in pacifist circles. The reconciliation I suggest is in terms of personalizing (Yogi-izing) the Commissar rather than vice versa, for the Yogi group seems more like a new religious sect than part of a social movement. I know that my suggestions are inadequate, even though they may be correct as far as they go, but we cannot go ahead until we have some kind of foundation.

How about it, fellow Commissars, shall we decree personal growth as a matter of group discipline?

A General Dies

By Edith Lovejoy Pierce

Lower into the grave with him,
War, his bride.
Entomb at his side
An age.
Turn a page.
Lay at his head and his feet
Victory and defeat.
Toll a bell, fire a gun
Final beneath the sun.
Sink him under the grass,
Bid him a firm goodbye.
Let what is passing pass,
Let what is deathbound die.

EDITH LOVEJOY PIERCE.

Parole Restrictions Lifted; Hassler Returns to FOR Staff

R. Alfred Hassler who has been "on leave" from the editorial staff of FELLOWSHIP and the FOR literature department while serving time as a CO in Lewisburg Penitentiary and more recently as a parolee in Mt. Sinai Hospital, New York, will be back on the job in the National Office by the time this issue reaches our readers. His "8641 parole" is now subject to no restrictions as to type of work he may choose or acceptance of current wage or salary.

This is one instance of a new parole policy which after long delay is being put into effect by the U. S. Board of Parole. Under this policy, all CO's who are over 26 and have served one-third of their terms will be given "unrestricted parole" on application to the Board. Men now out on parole may shift from hospital to other jobs.

Men under 26 may still be subjected to old limitations, forbidding work in their home communities, and restricting the type of work and the rate of pay they may receive. But even these persons may apply for more liberal parole terms.

It is expected that approximately 1200 Jehovah's Witnesses and a considerable number of other CO's will soon be paroled under the new plan. All this is a matter for rejoicing. We must keep in mind, however, that a considerable number of CO's cannot conscientiously accept any form of parole and that the civil rights of convicted CO's still will be curtailed until *full amnesty* has been achieved.

Committee for Amnesty

The Committee for Amnesty—For All Objectors to War and Conscription—which grew out of a conference reported in the January issue of FELLOWSHIP has now been formally organized and has begun work with Stanley Murphy as full-time secretary and organizer, and Frances Rose Ransom loaned by the WRL for part-time work.

The Committee has issued a leaflet pointing out that the objectors to war and conscription for whom it is working include also Jehovah's Witnesses, Puerto Rican nationalists, Hopi Indians "whose long-standing tradition of peace led them to refuse military service," and objectors "court-martialled by the armed forces, and others convicted of Selective Service violations, who were ignorant of the law and its procedures or caught in the red-tape of legal procedure."

The leaflet points out that unless full amnesty, including restoration of civil rights, is provided, CO's who have been convicted are legally felons and will find it difficult or impossible to get into professions such as law, medicine, and dentistry or to obtain civil service jobs. Therefore, commutation of sentence of those still in prison and restoration of civil rights for them and also for those who have completed their terms is the objective.

A. J. Muste is chairman of the temporary Executive Committee and Evan W. Thomas is Treasurer. The Committee is trying to raise a fund of $5,000 to launch a nation-wide campaign. Its address is Room 1029, 5 Beekman St., New York 7, N. Y.

Conscription Chicanery

The Army is being accused by radio commentators of using chicanery to create a situation that will convert the public mind to a position of accepting military conscription legislation. And the GI's—who are anxious to return home from European and Pacific war theaters—have been at the receiving end of this latest piece of trickery, but they have been "receiving" with a howl, and the whole thing has bounced right back into the lap of the alleged perpetrators of the trick! GI's are demanding, "Why has the Army slowed down its original demobilization plan?" and "Why are we being held here when we are eligible to return home?" If the Army is attempting to fool the public into thinking that more troops are needed overseas than at first planned or than can be secured through voluntary enlistments—as commentators hint they are attempting to do—and that for this reason conscription legislation should be passed, why it looks as if they can mark up another failure. It isn't going to be easy to fool the GI's this time.

Radio programs too are not above this kind of chicanery, as when George V. Denny, Jr., Moderator of the Town Meeting program, put an entirely different question from that asked by a lady in the audience referring to statements made by Mr. Frank Miles, editor of the *Iowa Legionnaire,* and Lieutenant General Raymond S. McLain, commanding officer of the 19th Corps—both "favoring universal military training now." Dialogue quoted below from Town Meeting Bulletin, Vol. 11, No. 32, seems to indicate that Moderator Denny was attempting to avoid having the lady's question answered without letting the audience know his intentions:

Lady: ". . . I wonder why if a fellow officer of the General's had been opposed to military training, the War Department would, in all likelihood, not have allowed him to speak here tonight."

* * * * *

Lady (defending her position): "I do believe that the War Department refuses to let its officers speak in public without first approving what they have to say. I know that from certain incidents."

Mr. Denny: "Well, now, I just doubt that, because nobody censors these speeches and nobody censors what the General says here . . .

"Besides, I don't think it's a relevant or a fair question . . . Mr. Miles, the question was directed to you, and I horned in on it. What do you think about it? Do you think the War Department would permit freedom of speech?"

Mr. Miles: "Certainly."

Our sources of information advise us that no officer or enlisted man is permitted to testify publicly against peacetime military conscription legislation.

Sayre in Europe

John Nevin Sayre, Secretary of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, left January 17 for a three-months tour of Europe. His itinerary will include England, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland and he hopes to be able to visit Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia as well. Mr. Sayre's last visit to European FOR groups was in the summer of 1938. Since that time those members have experienced nearly six years of the most destructive war in history. Mr. Sayre's mission will make it possible to renew Fellowship ties with members and sympathizers in Europe, and to determine what the American FOR can do that will provide the greatest spiritual and material aid.

An IFOR Council Meeting has been arranged for March 24-31 in Stockholm, Sweden, to discuss Europe's problems and America's part in them, and to select officers to carry on the IFOR work on the Continent. Mr. Sayre will also have an opporunity to combine Fellowship work with the work carried on by the American Friends and Brethren Service Committees by bringing back reports of their respective projects in Austria, Germany, and Czechoslovakia.

Report from Vienna

Rita Bächler, Swiss FOR Secretary, and Mälla Granat have returned from a trip to Vienna made possible through gifts from the IFOR War Victims Fund and from friends in Switzerland. Taking a gift from the Fund for relief in Austria, they were sent to investigate conditions in Vienna—a city one-fourth bombed and burned out. Children have been the greatest sufferers as a result of the first two months of occupation when almost no food was to be had. While some provision has now been made for the younger children, no plan has been made for youth over 14 years. Immediate help is necessary for this group, including "suitable opportunity for employment as they were forced to join the National Socialist Young Peo-

ple's Organization and are in their critical adolescent years."

Some 2,000 fugitive children under 14 years of age now in the camps of Vienna "were on their way for weeks, poorly nourished, exposed to infections and foot sores and are now living in mass quarters where the most primitive hygienic measures can scarcely be carried out. Of childhood and joy these children know but little."

War Victims Fund

Nearly four thousand dollars—coming from FOR mite boxes, special gifts, savings effected by fasting, and proceeds of the sale of FOR Christmas cards—have been distributed by the Fellowship's War Victims Fund during 1945. Distribution of the Fund has been possible through the help of members in the countries receiving relief as follows:

Henri Roser, France.....	$2,000.00
Siegmund-Schultze, Austria and displaced Germans.	1,500.00
Claud Nelson, Italy	200.00
Philippe Vernier, Belgium.	100.00
Jose Brocca, México	50.00
	$3,850.00

Sale of Christmas cards netted approximately $1,000 to be used for relief of war victims during 1946. Because needs are becoming more apparent each day, all FOR members here are urged to send for coin boxes and to make use of this and all other means of contributing to the Fund. Boxes are available free at 2929 Broadway, New York 25, N. Y.

Shall Germany Starve?

The United States, Great Britain, and Russia are accused of carrying out a deliberate policy of starvation in Germany by 34 U. S. Senators who sent a delegation to interview President Truman in the interest of relief for the German people.

"Germany is the only nation subjected to a deliberate starvation policy of 1500 calories a day," this delegation told the President, and in Germany alone "UNRRA is not permitted to feed its nationals." The President was reminded that it is now possible to send mail and packages "to certain privileged individuals and groups accredited by UNRRA and the Red Cross within Germany" and that it is the German *people* "who are being denied the chance to correspond with or receive aid from the outside world."

Responses to December advertising carried by the American Friends Service Committee in several of the nation's largest newspapers indicate that the Government's policy does not represent the American people. The AFSC has received 21,000 statements approving their advertised appeal to save ex-enemy countries from starvation and only 24 protests—most of them anonymous. $23,000 "in unsolicited contributions" was sent to the AFSC for relief work as a result of the statement, according to the Senators' report to the President. He was also reminded that "General MacArthur has just requested three million metric tons of food stuffs for Japan to prevent mass starvation by raising the minimum diet to 2000 calories a day." What are we going to do about Germany?

Puerto Rico

The following statement was prepared by the FOR Executive Committee, on authority of the National Council, to express the position of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in regard to Puerto Rico:

1. We are in full accord with the desire of the people of Puerto Rico that colonial status be abolished. We support the principle of the plebiscite. The people of Puerto Rico should be given an opportunity to indicate their own choice as to future political status, regardless of whether we approve of their choice. Democracy implies the right to make unwise as well as wise choices. The Joint Commission provided for by the Puerto Rican Senate and House of Representatives in Joint Resolution No. 1, 1945, has asked that the alternative forms of political status to be voted on should include (1) Independence, (2) Dominion Status, and (3) Statehood.

2. A plebiscite, however, must be conducted in good faith. This means that if Congress provides for a plebiscite, the United States must be prepared to effect the status which the Puerto Rican people may choose, and precludes offering a choice or choices which the United States does not intend to put into effect. In formulating choices, Congress should, we believe, keep in view the interests of the world community and Latin America as well as those of Puerto Rico and the United States. As yet there has been no indictation by Congress of what alternatives it is willing to offer and still less has there been informed discussion by the people of the United States on the basic issues, including such questions as whether the United States would be serving the best interests of mankind and the cause of world democracy by expansion through the technique of granting statehood to Puerto Rico and other countries, or whether Dominion Status is feasible under the Constitution.

3. Under these circumstances we hold that the most important immediate need is thorough discussion of these and related issues in Congress and in the country. We oppose any move to suppress or restrict the freedom either of Puerto Ricans or of the people of the United States in this discussion. For multitudes throughout the world, the United States' treatment of Puerto Rico is the decisive test of our fidelity to our democratic professions and our purpose not to practice imperialism. This issue must, therefore, be faced seriously and under genuinely democratic conditions.

4. We record our opposition to those sections of the Tydings Bill and of the Tydings-Pinero Bill which provide for the maintenance of American military and naval bases in Puerto Rico, or for conscription and other military activities, and which require Puerto Rico to enter any war in which the United States may become engaged.

5. Whatever the political choices that may be offered to Puerto Rico, the Congress and people of the United States must make fair and generous provision for safeguarding the economic and cultural life of the Island and should recognize a special responsibility for the continuing welfare of a people whom we have long held in a colonial status.

ACLU Reports

Civil liberty in international problems will occupy first place among important issues to be settled during 1946, according to a forecast made by the American Civil Liberties Union, and foremost among important domestic tasks will be provision for "racial equality before the law." The Union cites as the chief issue coming out of the war and requiring immediate action "the release of over 3,000 conscientious objectors in prison and the restoration of their civil rights."

Summing up gains and losses for 1945, the Union notes the following "significant" gains in civil liberties: (1) lifting of restrictions to open the way for persons of Japanese ancestry to return to the Pacific Coast, and the "belated opening up of Navy service" to Japanese Americans; (2) New York State's Fair Employment Practice Act, and "decisions of higher courts prohibiting unions from excluding or segregating Negroes"; (3) Georgia's repeal of its poll tax for voting eligibility; (4) the Supreme Court's decisions "voiding restrictive state labor laws"; (5) the government's anti-trust suit "to divorce control by the leading producers of motion picture distribution and exhibition."

Foremost among losses for the year the ACLU names: (1) inadequate provision of Congress for the FEPC; (2) the Senate's failure to take action on repealing the poll tax; (3) U. S. Supreme Court's decision to uphold the Illinois Court's stand in refusing to admit a pacifist lawyer to the bar; (4) the Administration's refusal to give CO's in prison "the same terms of parole as ordinary offenders"; (5) violent and intimidating acts toward Japanese returning to California; (6) "unwarranted fishing expeditions" by the House Committee on Un-American Activities into "alleged Communist influences."

World Day of Prayer

On March 8 people all around the world will gather in churches to observe the annual World Day of Prayer. This year's program was prepared by Miss Mabel Shaw, of Mberishi, Africa, and is devoted to "The Things That Make for Our Peace." Facing with humility the "tribulation, distress, persecution, famine, nakedness, and peril" in the world, the order of service moves toward a loving good will extended to all men everywhere—the only way to eliminate "every wrong that hurts and every sin that defiles" men's hearts. It really is a dedication to the millions of children and other people in every country of the world whose lives are filled with suffering—physical and mental—as the result of war, of low living standards, of hate and prejudice. That means German children and Chinese children; Japanese, French, British, Jewish, Russian people. It would even mean children of American factory workers, and American Negro children who face insult and injury in schools, colleges, churches, professions, and labor organizations. It would mean setting oneself toward "The Things That Make for Our Peace." The millions of church people who attend this year's World Day of Prayer—if they enter into Miss Shaw's program with sincerity—will come out of their churches converted to the pacifist position.

Creativity in Prison

Creative ability is not easily stifled even by segregation in a federal prison, if we can judge by *Grapevine* reports of the achievements of certain conscientious objectors. Malcolm Parker (Sandstone) has constructed a slide rule—without the aid of a ruler—that has an accuracy of about 99.8 per cent. Not bad! And Bill Roberts (Lewisburg)—with no musical instrument accessible—has composed chamber music of an unusually high character. In a lighter mood Bill sings his *Song to Lewisburg Penitentiary:*

I

In the Pennsylvania countryside
So beautiful and hilly
Can be found an institution where
We're living willy-nilly.
The FBI was kind enough
To enroll me as a member.
Now the warden says that I can stay
Till a year from next December.

CHORUS

O Lewisburg, O Lewisburg,
What memories enclothe you!
How can we ever let you know
How thoroughly we loathe you!

II

Though our faculty is headed by
The wise Professor Hiatt,
Our curriculum is limited—
There's no use to deny it.
Some trade schools teach the art of building
Houses out of lumber,
But here we learn to build five years
With nothing but a number.

III

As the years roll by and I must leave
This institute behind me,
My one pray'r is that the FBI
Next time will fail to find me.
If they offer to renew my term,
I'll answer, "Thanks a million.
You're very, very kind to me,
But I'd rather stay civilian!"

Opportunities for CPS Men Abroad

Many CPS men, looking eagerly toward foreign service as demobilization gets under way and they are free to go into relief and reconstruction work, will join foreign projects of the American Friends and the Brethren Service Committees. The AFSC is looking for men qualified for work in such undertakings as:

EUROPEAN TRANSPORT UNIT—Experienced drivers, skilled in overhauling motors, are being sought to make up a 30-man unit whose initial work will be hauling relief supplies including reconstruction materials and foodstuffs, both local production and imported. Four FOR members — George Loveland, Samuel Snipes, E. P. Stephenson, and Winslow Ames—are among the present personnel of the first ETU which will sail for France by March 1.

GERMANY—Believing that provision will soon be made to permit private relief agencies to enter the American zone of Germany, the AFSC sent James Read and Gilbert White to investigate and report conditions in that country. Future relief plans of the Committee will be based on their report. The AFSC is anxious to receive the names of persons particularly interested in German work.

POLAND—"Work camp background and reconstruction skills" are the preliminary qualifications for workers desiring to join the Polish project. This work will begin with a "limited feeding program" for students and later will "develop community projects with the Polish Co-operative Movement."

CHINA—The FAU China Convoy needs experienced mechanic-drivers and medical workers including: laboratory and x-ray technicians, surgeons' assistants, nurses, doctors, general hospital workers, and administrative personnel. The work now includes six medical teams and a transportation fleet of 50 trucks and is to be expanded.

BSC Expands Program

Expansion of programs in Germany, Italy, Austria, Japan, China and Latin America is planned by the BSC. The most urgent current need is for 8,000 men who will go to Europe as livestock attendants, according to Tartt Bell, Demobilization Secretary of the BSC. Each attendant cares for approximately 25 animals, including feeding, watering, and cleaning. The trip takes about 8 weeks and men are paid $150 by UNRRA. Write Ben Bushong, New Windsor, Md., for full information.

Jottings

The Berlin birth rate was 15 and the death date 54 per 1,000 for the month ending October 12—latest report received. The situation probably has grown worse as a result of winter cold and the Allies' admitted failure to maintain even their below-subsistence aim of 1,550 calories in Germany.

The Detroit FOR announces a Rotary Loan Fund set up for the convenience of CPS men. No interest, no securities, repay as able! For information write Grant O. Washburn, 4603 Hamilton, Detroit 1, Mich.

We again call attention to Emmett Newby's plan for donating to the FOR the entire profits from magazine subscriptions that FOR members send him. He hopes that proceeds from this project will net $1,000 for the FOR in 1946. Write Emmett Newby, 1416 Moore St., Toledo 8, Ohio.

Findings of the recent seminar on *Non-Violence as a Way of Life* have been published in mimeographed form by the New York City Fellowship and can be obtained from their office, 45 Astor Place, New York 3 for 10¢.

The Town Hall of the Air poll on compulsory military training, following its program on this subject, showed 89 per cent opposed and 11 per cent favoring compulsory military training.

Charles Iglehart, Associate Professor of Missions at Union Theological Seminary and member of the International Policy Committee of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, recently went to Tokyo as education adviser to our occupation authorities.

CPS Camp No. 21, Cascade Locks, Ore., has published a two-color anti-conscription poster which can be obtained by writing to the camp or to 602 Stock Exchange Bldg., Portland, Ore., at a nominal cost.

Lafayette College, Easton, Pa., offers a scholarship giving first consideration to a Japanese applicant. Mr. and Mrs. Robert Johnstone, of Downington, Pa., created the scholarship in honor of their son, Robert S. Johnstone (killed in action on Luzon) from his government insurance of $10,000 and additional gifts of their own, as a memorial to his belief that "better understanding could remove the causes of most wars."

The Peacemaker's Bookshelf

Wrestling with Christ

The Gospel According to Gamaliel, by Gerald Heard. Harper and Brothers, New York, 1945. 154 pp. $2.00.

Gerald Heard's creative writing in recent years has seemed to oscillate between books like *Man the Master* and *Preface to Prayer* which deal with the discipline of attaining spiritual enlightenment and power, and books like *The Code of Christ, The Creed of Christ, Dialogue in the Desert* and now *The Gospel According to Gamaliel* which portray the figure of one in whom he sees the spiritual enlightenment and power perculiarly focussed. This spell of Christ on the mind of a seeker so earnest and so sincere and yet on a mind as eclectic and as indebted to Eastern religion and thought as Gerald Heard's is well known to be, is a wrestling match that keeps the spectators ever in suspense.

The Gospel According to Gamaliel, however, does little to resolve this struggle or to indicate its outcome. Using something of the manner of *Dialogue in the Desert,* Gerald Heard imaginatively describes the impact of Jesus' life and teaching upon Gamaliel, his contemporary and a leader of the mercy, love, and justice school of the Pharisaical party of traditional Judaism. To this enlightened member of the Jewish religious hierarchy, the power and fascination of a new prophet-healer preaching faith, love, and forgiveness is represented through moving recapitulations of scenes from Jesus' career and from His closing hours. Gamaliel who relates these incidents however, would have preferred to see Jesus remain prophet-healer and is either non-commital or frankly disappointed in Jesus' claim of Himself as Messiah, as the suffering servant foretold in Isaiah who would bring in the new age. The revival and extension of this claim into that of world-saviourship which took place in the early Christian church is portrayed by Gamaliel as an unfortunate Pauline device which arose as a personal attempt on Paul's part to meet and resolve his own private defects which are highlighted from beginning to end in this book, and as a preaching device to assist in a swift conversion of the Gentile world.

The book concludes in a sharp contrast between Jesus as teacher-prophet-healer and proclaimer of the eternal laws of love and mercy and forgiveness whose practice will open the lives of men and nations—the Jesus in fact whom Gamaliel and perhaps Gerald Heard himself could have followed—and over against him the Jesus who for Paul was very God and hence transcender of all laws, of all values, of all works, the Christ in whom and through whom alone man has hope of salvation. With the former view, Gamaliel and with him, according to Gerald Heard, all enlightened Jews and Gentiles today could have no basic quarrel. The claims of the latter view of Jesus as Saviour are however implied to be divisive and responsible for much of the intolerance and bigotry in Christian circles today.

Paul's question, however, of where men are to receive the power to carry out the highest law save in an inward identification with Christ is still unanswered in this book and one leaves the book with a sense that, moving and helpful as are the fresh reliving of these incidents of Jesus' life, what is given us here even in the gentle interpretation of the law that Gamaliel gives can scarcely with accuracy be called by the name of *Gospel,* and that Gerald Heard's wrestling with Christ has not yet reached its final round. Certainly for almost all of the Christian saints for whom Gerald Heard expresses such deep admiration, there can be little doubt that this *Gospel* could not have fired and shaped and formed them.

DOUGLAS V. STEERE.

For a Better World

Let's Do Better. Written and Illustrated by Munro Leaf. J. B. Lippincott, 80 pp. $1.50.

A dear and thoughtful friend and fellow-pacifist sent me a copy of this children's book—ages 5-up the jacket says—for a Christmas present. Since it came to the office, the family rule about not opening presents until Christmas morning did not apply. Anyway, I wasn't sure it was a present until the outer wrapping had been taken off! So I read the book and looked at the pictures immediately. I'm sorry it did not come sooner so I could have recommended it for Christmas giving to a lot of people.

As it is, I recommend it as good fun and good peace education and as a present to give to the grandchildren or children and their grandparents and parents on birthdays or for Easter or Fourth of July or just for Tuesday. (A White House employee is said to have remarked that when Roosevelt was there, every day was Sunday, but now it's Tuesday.)

One theme of this book is a little over-simplified: People are divided into three kinds, Thinkers, Doers, and Selfish Persons; the SP's get into power and then you have War. But the main theme is all to the good: "If we want this world to be a better place, *we are the ones who can make it so.* Let's Do Better!" The illustrations are marvelous.

A. J. M.

Greetings to Europe

The following letter, authorized by the executive committee and written by Phillips P. Elliott, chairman of the U.S. FOR, was carried to European Fellowship groups by Nevin Sayre when he left for Europe last month:

The visit of Rev. John Nevin Sayre to the countries of Europe provides the American Fellowship of Reconciliation with a much desired opportunity to send swift and direct greetings to Fellowship members in other lands. Communication has been difficult, if not impossible, during these war years, and we look forward with eagerness to the resumption of the personal ties which make our Fellowship so truly international. We in the United States have felt very close to you in thought and in prayer, even though it has not been possible to have the contact which letters and visits can provide. We know the fidelity with which you have adhered to our common conviction that love is stronger than hate and that its light alone can overwhelm the darkness. For the eloquence of your testimony by lips yet even more by lives we have been inspired and strengthened.

The awful ravages of war have opened the hearts of men everywhere to the message of a new way and a new power. And into that God-given opportunity we must enter. This can be done only as men and women in every land join their hands and hearts not only in the spirit of fellowship but in doing the tasks of reconciliation, forgiveness, and goodwill which alone make true fellowship possible among men. That God will give you and us the guidance and strength we need to do our task aright in this new day is the constant prayer and the confident hope of your friends in the Fellowship of Reconciliation in the United States.

Conscientious Objectors in Prison. By Mulford Sibley and Ada Wardlaw. Pacifist Research Bureau, Philadelphia, 1945. 68 pp. 25 cents.

This study, financed jointly by the Pacifist Research Bureau, the Social Science Research Council, and the Cornell Research in Civil Liberties, seeks to answer such questions as why CO's were sent to prison during World War II, what were the trial procedures, what CO's have done while in prison, how they have affected and been affected by prison life, how they are released, and what is the "social significance of their imprisonment." The study reveals that CO's have had real influence on the thinking of officials in the prisons. As for the CO's themselves, the study concludes that there is a tendency "to doubt the value of prisons as now conceived and operated as agencies for the reformation of those convicted of offenses against the laws of society."

FOR Field Secretaries

South: Constance Rumbough, 1804 Grand Avenue, Nashville 4, Tenn.; *Midwest:* Emerson Schwenk, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; *Northwest:* Mary Farquharson, 1406 East 40th St., Seattle 5, Wash.; *Northern California:* Orval Etter, 2151 Vine Street, Berkeley 7, Cal.; *Southwest:* Glenn Smiley, 3302 S. Grand Ave., Los Angeles 7, Cal.; *Rocky Mountain:* Margaret Eberhard, 440 E. 13th Ave., Denver 3, Colo.; *Action Projects:* George Houser, 1850 E. 81st St., Cleveland 3, Ohio; *Middle Atlantic:* James E. Bristol, Room 900, 1831 Chestnut St., Philadelphia 3, Pa.

Pro and Con

A PAGE OF COMMENT BY READERS

Readers are invited to contribute to this page. Please keep letters brief, since space is severely limited.

Amends for Hiroshima

An Open Letter from the
People of the United States
to the People of Hiroshima:

For centuries you have been governed by those not of your choosing. You have obeyed your Emperor and those with him. What you have known of us, of late your enemies, has been taught you by men who have not peace in their hearts. Four years ago you wantonly attacked us. Since then you have waged war on us with bitter ferocity, as we have on you.

In America, knowledge and truth have been ours for the asking. We have bowed only to tyrants of our own making, wealth being the chief of these. Save for a few men of God, we have sent you only those who have devoted their lives to Mammon. Some of them have sold your people instruments with which to destroy their own sons. We have excluded your people from our shores, and mistreated those who have lived among us and adopted our land as theirs.

And now our inventiveness and wealth have brought forth that which in a flash has seared thousands of your people into oblivion. If this has saved thousands of our own sons from death at your hands, we rejoice in that, but pray that our rejoicing may be in that alone.

People of Hiroshima, we have served our God of Love, our Prince of Peace, as *ill* as you have served your Emperor *well*. For you and us there are still the present and future.

On that portion of your city destroyed by the weapon which you and we alike must fear, we propose to build a great University, a center of the truth that makes men free, a center where your men of knowledge and good will shall teach as well as ours. It shall be called the University of the New World.

(I hope that the above lines express the sentiments of a majority of American citizens. It is not impossible that they do.)

PARK J. WHITE, JR.

Department of Peace

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

It is deeply gratifying to find, at least occasionally, men in public office who are thoroughly Christian in their outlook and who respond to the Christian ideal. I believe that we have such a man in the Hon. Louis Ludlow of Indiana who recently introduced in the House, a bill known as H.R. 4648 and calling for the establishment of a Department of Peace and Good Will in our Federal Government. This bill should have the support of every member of the Fellowship.

My views as to one way in which a Department of Peace and Good Will might well function are expressed in a letter I wrote to Mr. Ludlow in appreciation for what he is trying to do. He was gracious enough not only to respond but to have it printed in the *Congressional Record,* a copy of which is enclosed. I am also enclosing a copy of a speech on Compulsory Military Training which reflects the courage and spirit of Mr. Ludlow. Surely, men of this type deserve the wholehearted support of all right-thinking people.

—LEE F. SOXMAN.

(*Following is the text of Mr. Soxman's letter to Mr. Ludlow, as it appeared in* the Congressional Record).

MY DEAR MR. LUDLOW: Permit me to congratulate you sir, on your efforts in Congress in behalf of peace and especially for H. R. 4648 to which you referred last week in your radio talk. Men like yourself, with concern and vision, backed by practical plans to meet the needs of this war-cursed world, are the only hope in the days that lie ahead.

Personally, I have felt the need for a long time, for a department of peace in our Federal Government. We certainly need in such a department, determined and aggressive leadership that will challenge this country and the whole world to do something heroic to stave off the disaster that certainly awaits us.

We need to learn to wage peace with the same spirit of sacrifice with which we wage war, and, I believe our people can be aroused to do it. They can plainly see that everything else has failed.

If we could put at the disposal of a department of peace only a fraction of the resources and manpower requested by the War Department, who can tell what the results might be? If, instead of training our youth to kill and destroy, we challenged them to take a year of training for peace work and then go out under Government auspices as members of an army of good will, to help meet the desperate needs of men today, don't you think youth would respond? We have sent them out with guns and bombs, why can't we appeal to them now with even more enthusiasm to go out and wage peace by helping poor, ignorant, and fearful people to a knowledge of the better life and to achieve a standard of living that will bring to them contentment and happiness? When people are happy and contented, the war-makers will be out of a job.

Wouldn't it be a glorious day for this old world if, instead of launching another silly and disastrous race in armaments, we engaged in a friendly rivalry in doing good? If we could volunteer to China, for instance, the services of a group of trained engineers and soil experts to go there and help them in the control of their rivers and the use of their land, how many millions of lives would be saved from starvation and want? Isn't it reasonable to assume that England and Russia and other countries would catch the spirit and follow our lead by establishing unselfish and cooperative relationships with places of need throughout the world? The strong must learn to help bear the infirmities of the weak and ignorant. This is indeed one world. Now we must make it a brotherhood.

Most cordially and sincerely yours,

LEE F. SOXMAN.

At Taxpayers' Expense

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

During the war, we were told to put our money into income taxes and War Bonds rather than consumers' goods. These sacrifices were made by the American People in the belief that the monies thus collected would be used to free the world from Fascism, to minister to the military needs of our fighting men who were to do the freeing—with the necessary medical and nursing services. Now it appears that without the knowledge of his constituents and without the approval of Congress, $750,000 of these funds were used by the late President Roosevelt in making gifts of a $250,000 transport plane to each of three individuals, viz., Winston Churchill, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and King Ibn Saud. President Truman has felt impelled to follow this precedent of doubtful legality by making a similar gift to Gen. De Gaulle, bringing the total expenditure to $1,000,000.

In each instance, public funds went to finance the gift, without any appropriation having been made therefor; the gifts were made by an individual, not to a country or the people of that country, not for the benefit and use of all its people, but to another individual. All of this was carefully suppressed from the American people who were footing the bill. In one instance the recipient was repudiated at the polls by his own people.

Under the insistent prodding of reporters, President Truman stated that he felt empowered to make his gift under the provision of the War Powers Act. The writer has examined the First War Powers Act, of 1941, and the Second War Powers Act, of 1942, but the research has failed to disclose any power or authority given to our President, or to any other individual in our government, to make the gifts in question.

At this late date, we are told that these gifts were made to build friendship. How do we build friendship with the people of a particular country when an individual gift is made to its head? What about the heads of other states and cabinet officers and ministers, all of whom must sometimes use discretion in matters where our country is involved? Are they to be slighted? At what point and when do we stop making personal gifts to particular individuals in order to win the co-operation of their governments? Carried to its logical conclusion, this precedent of personal gifts will cause more mischief and create more havoc than the now discredited appeasement policy has done.

—ESTHER S. FRANKEL.

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

The October FELLOWSHIP contains some very thought-provoking articles, especially the one entitled "New Methods for New Growth." The work with our law makers should be continued and people everywhere urged to write letters. I like the suggestion of moving the central office to a less metropolitan area for I believe that decentralization is a crying need in the country as a whole. Also we need rapid increase of cooperatives.

—ABNER ROCKWELL.

You Should Read Every One of These

F.O.R. BEST SELLERS

Erasing the Color Line, Houser ..... $ .25
Case studies of non-violent direct action against race discrimination in employment, in prisons, in housing, and in restaurants and public places.

Humiliation with Honor, Brittain 1.00
The fourth printing of Vera Brittain's letters to her son, written during the war; a challenge to every Christian who is concerned about war's evils.

The Power of Non-violence, Gregg 1.50
The new and revised edition, with three chapters written during the war. A powerful array of facts showing the power of non-violent methods. 253 pp.

Conscription After the War? Freeman ..... .25
The 64-page Forerunners booklet by Harrop and Ruth Freeman, discussing all the angles on peacetime conscription. Excellent for discussion groups.

Non-violence in an Aggressive World, Muste ..... .75
An interpretation of pacifism as a way of life for the individual and as practical method of political and social reform. Original edition. Paper.

Peace Is the Victory 1.50
A symposium by 13 Christian pacifists, presenting a practical plan for world brotherhood based on sacrificial good will. Harrop Freeman, editor.

Books of Other Publishers

Labor and Tomorrow's World, Oxnam $1.50
Bishop Oxnam's interpretation of the labor movement in relation to the world-wide mission of the Christian church. Right up to date. 153 pp.

Puerto Rico: Unsolved Problem 1.00
By Garver & Fincher. A brief but thorough treatment of Puerto Rico and her people in relation to U. S. Administration. Illustrated. 110 pp.

The Will of God for These Days, Page 1.00
The meaning of Christianity in the present world crisis, applied to all phases of life from family relationships to war. Cloth. 166 pages.

A Christian Global Strategy, VanKirk 2.00
A new and important challenge to our churches to co-operate for the Christianizing of the world. A practical, clear program. 197 pages.

The Anatomy of Peace, Reves 2.00
A stirring plea for a universal legal order among nations, under unified and democratic control, as the only way to maintain peace. Cloth, 275 pp.

Anti-conscription Materials

International Abolition of Conscription
Urgency of securing international agreement to abolish conscription; text of Martin Resolution. 12 for 25¢—100 for $1.50—1,000 for $12.00.

End the Draft Now
Demonstrates that a big army is unnecessary now, and pleads for immediate suspension of draft. 50 for 25¢—250 for $1.00—1,000 for $3.50.

The Atom Bomb and a Peacetime Draft
Single-sheet flyer showing futility of peacetime conscription in the light of the atomic bomb. 50 for 35¢—150 for $1.00—1,000 for $5.00.

The Cost of Compulsory Military Training
Reprint of article by John Swomley in *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* giving pertinent figures. 1¢ each—100 for 50¢—1,000 for $4.00.

The Aim of Conscription Is Indoctrination
Reprint of article by John Swomley in *Friends Intelligencer* revealing the militarists' motives. 25 for 35¢—100 for $1.00—1,000 for $9.00.

ONLY A FEW LEFT!

PAMPHLETS

of permanent historical value that may soon be out of print

How Jesus Faced Totalitarianism
Kirby Page's graphic account of first-century totalitarianism, and Jesus' answer..... 15¢

*

The World Task of Pacifism
A. J. Muste's survey of pacifism's status and prospects before U. S. entered war..... 10¢

*

Conscripts of Conscience
Alfred Hassler's story of 16 who refused to register for the draft in April, 1942..... 25¢

*

Pacifist Living Today and Tomorrow
An 80-page AFSC-Pendle Hill pamphlet with a wealth of material of permanent value.. 15¢

*

The Relevance of an Impossible Ideal
G. H. C. Macgregor's 48-page answer to the views of Reinhold Niebuhr on pacifism.... 10¢

*

A Durable Peace in Europe
William Henry Chamberlain. Authoritative and invaluable background material..... 20¢

*

If We Hate We Shall Fail
A powerful sermon by John Haynes Holmes on our attitude toward our enemies..... 10¢

*

Towards A Christian Peace
Economic and political approaches by Heath & Marwick, two British authorities..... 25¢

*

The Horror of It
A collection of 80 photographs of World War I showing war's terrific human toll... 25¢

*

Reflections of a Pastor
Henri Roser's meditations written early in the Nazi occupation of France; the thinking of a pacifist faced with violence..... 25¢

*

A Message to the Churches
The report of the Cleveland Conference on the Churches and a Just and Durable Peace.. 10¢

*

Pacifica Studies in Conscientious Objection
Eight articles by Dewey, Tagore, and other able authors on conscientious objection... 75¢

*

Sources of Quaker Peace Testimony
Howard Brinton's historical but vital story of early Quaker pacifism. 46 pages..... 25¢

*

Delaware to Dumbarton Oaks
International developments of 1942-45 in the light of principles formulated by the FCC Commission on a Just and Durable Peace. 15¢

*

Quakers and the Christian Church
Percy Bartlett's comprehensive discussion of Quaker views about the church..... 35¢

CASH WITH ORDER EXPEDITES SERVICE AND REDUCES EXPENSE—THANK YOU!

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION • 2929 Broadway, New York 25, N. Y.